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ABSTRACT

This report presents findings and recommendations resulting from the evaluation of programs implemented in 15 cities by the Boys and Girls Clubs of America. These programs were implemented to distribute variations on the "Weed and Seed" program and its provision of crime and drug prevention programs. The overall goal of Weed and Seed was to form partnerships between law enforcement and local communities in order to interdict the cycle of drugs, violence, and crime often found in deteriorating areas of major cities, weeding out violent offenders and seeding high-crime neighborhoods with community-based programs. The Boys and Girls Clubs of America began demonstration projects under Weed and Seed in cities in public housing where there had previously not been any similar programs. Fifteen of the 22 new projects were studied in this evaluation. Each of the 15 sites is described, and information is provided about data collection and programming activities. The 15 projects were organized and implemented with commitment and energy. A few types of programs were particularly promising, such as the comprehensive efforts of five programs and the educational enhancement of five others. Recommendations are made for program continuation and improvement, centering on the development of long-term objectives, clarity about project goals, needs assessment, and special emphasis programming. The importance of record keeping and careful program evaluation is stressed. (Contains 13 references.) (SLD)

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Boys and Girls Clubs in Public Housing

Final Research Report - March 31, 1995

Conducted for the National Institute of Justice

By

Carl E. Pope, Ph.D.
Rick Lovell, Ph.D.
University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee

Timothy S. Bynum, Ph.D.
Michigan State University

Jack R. Greene, Ph.D.
Temple University

William H. Feyerherm
Portland State University

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FINAL RESEARCH REPORT:

BOYS AND GIRLS CLUBS IN PUBLIC HOUSING

INTRODUCTION

This report presents findings and recommendations resulting from the evaluation of programs implemented in fifteen cities by the Boys and Girls Clubs of America. These programs were implemented to distribute, by region, variations on the central dimensions of "Weed and Seed," in particular the provision of crime and drug prevention programs. The purposes of this evaluation included (1) determination of levels of program implementation, (2) collection of data to provide inferences on program activities and stated objectives, (3) summarization of findings across sites, (4) analysis of the "goodness of fit" of particular program efforts to particular environments, and (5) identification of program development potentials.

Background and Significance

With problems of family disruption, poverty, gang activity, group delinquency, drug and alcohol abuse, and deteriorating inner city conditions growing, large numbers of America's youth slip into a quagmire from which return is extremely difficult. Most of our inner city youth legitimately may be termed "at risk" (see Lovell and Pope, 1992). A growing body of literature documents the profound nature of problems affecting life in America's central cities, particularly the disproportionate deleterious

impacts on minorities and minority youth (for example, see Anderson, 1990; Pope, 1994; Pope, 1993; Hagedorn, 1988; Hawkins, 1995; Pope, 1995; Pope and Clear, 1995; Wacquant and Wilson, 1989; and Wilson, 1987; among others).

Unfortunately, for many youth who reside in America's inner cities there are few alternatives to the streets. Thus, for many, drugs, gangs, and violence have become a way of life. Within many major metropolitan areas, school systems serve as warehouses for troublesome youth. Rather than preparing students for their futures as parents and labor force participants, they instead serve as institutions of containment. Similarly, as communities deteriorate there develops little sense of belonging and attachment. Informal systems of social control that influenced and monitored youthful behavior in the past deteriorate as well.

Many youth, as well as many adults, have become estranged within their own communities. Anderson's (1990) recent ethnographic study of poor urban communities illustrates the point. Older generation blacks (the "old heads") have greatly diminished in effectiveness as role models and guides for the younger generation of black males. (Similar comments apply to other groups.) The "streets" and the peer group have replaced them as tutors. Thus, gangs and problem youth, as well as adults seeking to promote problematic behaviors, have taken control and provide promised alternatives to hopelessness, despair, and poverty. The larger issue is that the promised alternatives actually fuel these problems. Particularly where drug use, drug sales, and drug related activities form a central dimension, the promised alternatives lead to more brutal conditions.

While there have been localized efforts of many sorts aimed in one way or another at addressing the inner cities dilemma, little has been done with the focus and scope of Operation Weed and Seed. Operation Weed and Seed has involved a multi-dimensional strategy with a primary emphasis on addressing the problems of drugs, drug dealing, violence, crime, and community recovery from drug problems and violent activity. The thrust of the overall strategy was based on an awareness that in various communities a coordinated comprehensive approach is needed. The idea was to form partnerships among governmental and private organizations to address significant reduction of criminal activity (the "weed" part) and community recovery (the "seed" part).

The four strategies of Weed and Seed included:

1. suppression -- enforcement, adjudication, prosecution, and supervision activities targeting those "who account for a disproportionate percentage of criminal activity."

2. community-oriented policing -- providing a "bridge" between enforcement activities and "neighborhood reclamation and revitalization activities."

3. prevention, intervention, and treatment -- focusing on "youth services, school programs, community and social programs, and support groups."

4. neighborhood reclamation and revitalization -- focusing on "economic development activities designed to strengthen legitimate community institutions." (BJA, 1991: 6)

The overall idea was to concentrate resources in designated areas to provide a comprehensive approach.

There has not been a great deal of literature on efforts such as Operation Weed and Seed. Much of the literature available involves largely theoretical discussions of potential policies, guidelines, or potential models which rather

superficially anticipate that what might work in one place might also work in every place. As Feyerherm, Pope, and Lovell (1992) found in an evaluation of gang prevention and intervention programs, this perspective is inappropriate. Some of the available literature involves anecdotal accounts of limited programs or efforts. Notably, the literature is yet conspicuously absent discussions of evaluations of efforts or programs where the evaluation was conducted in a reasonably comprehensive or rigorous manner.

Nonetheless, as this evaluation project began, there was sufficient information available to anticipate central dimensions and issues connected with the Boys and Girls Clubs efforts and to ascertain the project's evaluation needs. To begin with, the efforts of the Boys and Girls Clubs undoubtedly would need to emphasize the creation of partnerships. For example, a community policing emphasis would require cooperation among local organizations, both public and private. The problems addressed by Weed and Seed would be multi-dimensional and would require coordinated efforts in a multi-dimensional set of strategies. As Lovell and Pope (1992) have pointed out, for such strategies to have a chance at being effective, these must be tailored to local realities. In addition, a coordinated effort requires energetic commitment to development of a network of local organizations, public and private. An evaluation conducted by researchers from Columbia University and the American Health Foundation (Schinke, et al., 1991:4) noted the following: "Social support services are critical for youth in public housing. Yet comprehensive and sensitive services for young people in public housing are practically nonexistent. Public housing communities urgently need the kind of attention, community organization, and carefully

designed intervention programs that Boys and Girls Clubs offer." The emphasis must be on coordinated efforts at community organization and recovery.

Second, the Boys and Girls Clubs efforts undoubtedly would need to emphasize both prevention and provision of a focal point for youth development and community recovery. As noted by Robert Sweet (1991:1), Boys and Girls Clubs has a lengthy and "strong record of positive involvement with children at particular risk - those in declining neighborhoods and in public housing ..." Often Boys and Girls Clubs are located adjacent to or in inner city public housing developments.

All of the participants in this proposed evaluation had prior experience in program evaluation and policy development, and all had prior experience as independent evaluators on projects operated through Boys and Girls Clubs of America. Conducting site visits to inner city areas on earlier projects had revealed that, often, Boys and Girls Clubs are "the only game in town." By this we mean that, especially regarding inner city neighborhoods, many of the organizations capable of providing focal points for prevention and for community recovery have relocated to pursue more market-like approaches or have disappeared.

The Weed and Seed efforts would require a networking approach to bring together those organizations and resources initially available and to promote further development of initial networks. Boys and Girls Clubs had been involved in networking ventures prior to Weed and Seed (see Feyerherm, Pope, and Lovell, 1992; Lovell and Pope, 1992; and Bynum and Greene, 1981 for example) and had long focused on continuous cooperation as a dimension of operation. Evaluation of the Weed and Seed efforts would require determination of the nature of networking and/or

cooperative ventures central to the Weed and Seed efforts and examination of the appropriateness and levels of "success" of such efforts.

In a similar vein, researchers for the Public Policy Forum (1991) had noted, regarding recreation services of a developmental nature, that not only may availability and access be skewed [toward suburban areas], but different conceptions of what is needed may prevail. In other words, notions and approaches which may seem appropriate and may "fit" suburban or middle class areas are usually not appropriate to inner city neighborhoods. "In low income neighborhoods, the same conditions which challenge the traditional performance of schools likewise require different approaches to the organization of [developmental] services" (Public Policy Forum, 1991:3).

What actually "fits" the inner city and inner city youth may "differ in some important ways from approaches usually supported by existing policies and programs intended to benefit [inner city] groups" (Irby and McLaughlin, 1990:37). In other words, as Irby and McLaughlin point out, "You've got to know the territory. You've got to know the folks who live here" (1990:37). As Irby and McLaughlin (1990) had noted, inner city areas are in need of "full-service" organizations. Such organizations and efforts center on positive and developmental perspectives and maintain a long term, continuous presence. The developmental perspective required is broad, intentionally promoting peer approval for positive endeavors, community status for youth engaged in positive activities, group cohesiveness built around positive activities, and interpersonal support. This must be added to individual development, in that needs of

individuals (such as educational needs, among other such possibilities) must receive direct attention.

Boys and Girls Clubs had focused for more than a decade on youth development as an overall set of strategies for prevention efforts, for individual growth, and as part of what we have characterized earlier as community recovery. Evaluation of the Weed and Seed efforts would require attending to the degree to which program planning reflected local realities, assessing levels of program implementation, describing implementation successes and difficulties (i.e., what works well for implementation and what obstructs implementation) and related issues.

As suggested above, evaluation of the Boys and Girls Clubs efforts also would require addressing particulars concerning what "fits." In other words, the evaluation would require (1) assessing the overall "goodness of fit" (Alexander, 1963) of the various efforts implemented with regard to community and context, and (2) assessing the "goodness of fit" of particular components, dimensions, aspects of various efforts with regard to individuals and/or target groups as participants. Concerning these, for example, the evaluation would require attention to case management systems (to ascertain degrees of program accountability, youth evaluation, staff evaluation, troubleshooting problems, accountability to funding sources, matters of confidentiality of records and so on) and attention to particular initiatives (for example, BGCA's SMART Moves, a drug, alcohol, and teen pregnancy program which may be directly incorporated or which may serve as a model for development of initiatives). With the latter, what "fits" inner city youth becomes the overall question, as well as which initiatives in combination best address various local realities. The importance of these

questions is underscored by Irby and McLaughlin as they note that "this positive and developmental perspective operates in clear distinction from programs and policies that try to `manage' the negative or problematic aspects of [youth] -- substance abuse, crime, school failure, teenaged pregnancy and so on. Attracting and engaging inner city [youth] requires positive appeal and respect for their values, concerns, and circumstances" (1991:38). Without such perspective, even the most well-intentioned efforts may not achieve anticipated results.

Overall, the issues of concern dovetailed in the problem of providing a process evaluation of the programs and efforts developed and implemented by Boys and Girls Clubs of America for Operation Weed and Seed. The following section describes the details of the evaluation methodology.

EVALUATION DESIGN

The overall goal of operation Weed and Seed was to form partnerships between law enforcement (federal, state and local) and local communities in order to interdict the cycle of drugs, violence and crime often found in deteriorating areas of major cities. The first step was to weed out violent offenders in targeted high crime neighborhoods. The second step was to seed high crime neighborhoods with multi-faceted community based programs to provide alternatives to crime and prevent the resurgence of drug use and violent crime. One such alternative was to build upon the resources often provided by local Boys and Girls Clubs.

With over 1200 local clubs operating in every major metropolitan area, Boys and Girls Clubs of America (BGCA) was an ideal partner and compliment to Weed

and Seed efforts. Clubs typically provide recreational programming for youth as well other services such as tutorial programs, field trips, craft programs, mentoring positive enhancements, such as SMART Moves and the like. Moreover, Boys and Girls Clubs has proven to be effective in servicing disadvantaged youth with local club facilities often located adjacent to or within public housing projects (Schinke, et al., 1991; Feyerherm, Pope and Lovell, 1992). As such, Boys and Girls Clubs have long provided a major alternative to the "streets."

Given the above, the Bureau of Justice Assistance funded Affiliate Boys and Girls Clubs through the national organization, Boys and Girls Clubs of America (BGCA), to conduct demonstration projects (educational enhancement programs, comprehensive programs focusing primarily on medical screening and services) and to establish new club units in public housing where previously there had been no such presence. Eventually 22 projects were undertaken. Fifteen of these projects were included in the evaluation: all of the educational enhancement projects (5), all of the comprehensive/medical screening projects (5), and five of the "new club" projects. These 15 projects were selected in order to obtain the best possible representation of the BGCA efforts. The selection was made with informational input and complete cooperation of the leadership of BGCA. Please see the following section for brief descriptions of the sites/projects evaluated.

The National Institute of Justice funded the evaluation as a process evaluation. The main aims were to be 1) assessment of the implementation of the projects, including determination of efforts which worked well and could be replicated, as well

as determination of efforts which did not work well and explanation of problem areas; and 2) assessment to the degree possible, of the projects' effectiveness.

The methodology that we utilized for the evaluation was designed to accomplish the objectives noted above. As Patton observes (1980:60):

> Process evaluations are aimed at elucidating and understanding the internal dynamics of program operations. Process evaluations focus on the following kinds of questions: What are the factors that come together to make the program what it is? What are the strengths and weaknesses of the program? How are the clients brought into the program and how do they move through the program once they are participants? What is the nature of staff-client interactions?

Central to a process evaluation is a detailed description of program operations which is ideally suited to a qualitative design. Thus, the assessment relied heavily on qualitative interviews and observations. This was to be supplemented by a limited quantitative component which would involve the statistical analysis of data to be drawn from records and from other sources, such as Weed and Seed records relevant to program efforts. However, the data available were found not to be amenable to a meaningful statistical analysis; and, so, the overall evaluation centered on the qualitative component.

The evaluation team included Drs. Carl Pope and Rick Lovell (University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee), Dr. Tim Bynum (Michigan State University), Dr. Jack Greene (Temple University), and Dr. William Feyerherm (Portland State University). The members of this team had been involved in two previous process evaluations for the Boys and Girls Club of America. In 1981, Greene and Bynum had conducted an assessment of the Delinquency Prevention Through Systems Change Project of the Michigan Area Council of Boys Clubs of America. More recently, Feyerherm, Pope,

and Lovell (1992) had conducted a process evaluation of gang prevention and intervention programs implemented at 33 sites across the country. Both projects had employed a similar methodology which was consistent with the aims noted above. The methods utilized were designed for a comprehensive assessment.

Data Collection

The first stage in the data collection effort involved an assessment of the BGCA's selection and implementation criteria for the 15 sites that were involved in the evaluation efforts. Members of the evaluation team met with representatives of the National Boys and Girls Club (New York) and participating sites in order to determine the specific criteria, goals and objectives which guided program efforts at the local sites. In other words, what were the expectations that local programs were to meet, for example, in educational enhancements or community collaboration models.

Team members met with BGCA leaders on two occasions in New York City at the beginning of the project. During these meetings, team members also reviewed all documentation pertinent to the projects and the evaluation. This allowed the team to develop a "goodness of fit" between what was expected by the National Club and what was carried out at the local level. In addition, all team members attended the BGCA Annual Conference in Boston during April 1993. At this meeting discussions and interviews were conducted with BGCA leaders, regional directors, and leaders of local organizations in order to develop an understanding of the relationships among these organizations. Related to this, Drs. Bynum, Greene, and Lovell later (Bynum/Lovell, June, 1993; Greene/Bynum, July 1993) attended technical

assistance/debriefing sessions held by BGCA in New York City for those implementing educational enhancement projects (June meeting) and comprehensive/medical projects (July meeting). Observing these latter sessions provided the opportunity again to assess the delivery of technical assistance by BGCA, as well as to gauge the appropriateness of the interface between BGCA's involved staff and the implementers. Based upon these meetings, and preliminary information obtained from each site, qualitative interview schedules were constructed to guide the interview process.

The team conducted fifteen initial on-site evaluations. Two members of the evaluation team visited each site. On-site interviews were conducted with the club directors, project directors, project staff and, where possible, program participants, parents of program participants, law enforcement personnel including community based police representatives, school representatives, Weed and Seed participating agencies, and other community participants depending on the nature of programming activities and the types of partnerships established. Before the site visits, the evaluation team contacted the program director to discuss the evaluation process, to identify and arrange interviews, and to coordinate other aspects of the site visits. Site visits typically began with an initial in-depth interview with the chief executive officer and/or the program director followed by the remainder of the interviews. Exit interviews were also held with the program directors and club directors to clarify and expand on information. Aside from the structured interviews, the team collected observational material, including interactions between staff and participants, and reviewed documents relevant to the projects undertaken.

After each site visit, a written report of the information that was produced during the visit was compiled. For internal use, these reports were shared with each project director to provide preliminary feedback and clarification. Follow-up visits were made to selected sites. Internal records maintained by the local Boys and Girls Clubs were reviewed. Local clubs compiled case management records, and in some instances tracking records regarding participants, which provided useful information, although there was a good deal of variation in recordkeeping.

The overall intent of the evaluation was to document and describe the process of development of Boys and Girls Club program activities. This description should serve as a basis on which other clubs and organizations may choose to implement similar prevention and intervention efforts. It is important to note at this point that the evaluation was not funded and initiated until implementation of the projects was well underway. Actually, several of the projects were nearing completion by the time the evaluation team was able to get started. A number of difficulties were presented to the conduct of the evaluation, and several issues of importance are related to beginning evaluations after commencing with implementation. See section on problem elements for further discussion.

Data Analysis

The qualitative data was assessed by examining re-occurring themes. For example, the team identified those factors that both enhanced and limited development of prevention programs both within specific sites and across sites. This may lead to the establishment of criteria for future program development. As noted

earlier, environments vary across public housing sites and therefore program needs and intervention strategies may vary as well. Thus, it is important to assess environmental differences (the social ecology within which the projects function) and their impact on outcome and implementation. The findings are summarized both within and across sites. Critical issues are identified and recommendations made.

SITE DESCRIPTIONS

This section contains brief descriptions of each of the fifteen sites which were evaluated as part of the project. These descriptions include information regarding the data collection process (e.g.,. interviews and records) and programming activities.

Atlanta, Georgia

An educational enhancement effort was conducted at the Warren Boys and Girls Club by the Metro Atlanta Boys and Girls Clubs. The Warren Club serves a large area which includes the Englewood Manor and Thomasville Heights housing developments. The Warren Club is a large facility, including gym and pool as well as outside activity areas. This club provides a broad array of activities and areas to serve a membership of approximately 1300, with daily attendance reported to be 250 to 350. The club provides transportation by van to residents of the housing developments, which are located at distances of approximately 2 and 5 miles respectively.

During the site visit Drs. Feyerherm and Lovell interviewed all club staff involved with the educational enhancement efforts (including the educational enhancement coordinator, and all other involved staff, as well as the club administrator), the Metro Atlanta Director of Services, the interim principal of the elementary school service located in the area served by the Warren Club, and a small sampling of program participants and parents. Atlanta is a designated Weed and Seed city; however, the W/S coordinator for the city was not available for an interview. Although the Director of Metro Atlanta Boys and Girls Clubs noted that the Atlanta Police Department, especially Chief Bell, was aware of the educational enhancement effort and showed cooperative interaction, neither the chief nor any other police department official was available for an interview.

Program efforts were underway at the Warren Club by November, 1993. Initially 35, and eventually 47, club members were involved directly. The educational enhancement activities undertaken conformed to the "hi yield" notion. These included homework assistance and tutoring, computer assisted learning, art education and activities, writing activities (including poetry, Ghostwriter's, 3-2-1 Contact, and Square One), public speaking (Toastmaster's program), discussions with adult staff, cognitive games, and sessions in which youth and staff would read together and discuss the readings. Club staff used an incentive system based on awarding points and providing small prizes, parties, and award recognition for participation in designated activities.

Charleston, South Carolina

The project of the Boys and Girls Clubs of Greater Charleston involved the creation of two new club locations, one in Mt. Pleasant and the other in the East Side Community Center in Charleston. Both of these clubs are located proximate to public housing developments. Charleston was a designated Weed and Seed city.

The initial site visit was conducted by Drs. Bynum and Greene. During the site visit structured interviews were conducted with the executive director of the Boys and Girls Clubs of Greater Charleston and with the Weed and Seed Coordinator for Charleston. Also, each of the clubs was visited and discussions were held with unit staff.

This project involved the introduction of new clubs to serve public housing areas where there was previously no presence. Actually, the clubs were started during summer 1991 and subsequently became a part of the Weed and Seed effort. Initial activities were focused on development of board support, gaining and increasing trust of parents in the areas served, recruiting youth, building relationships with other organizations and agencies (for example, the Recreation Department), and actually getting into operation. The programming focus was broad, including youth development and a range of activities to support youth development, as well as providing activities to interest the 6-12 year-old population and the 13-18 year-old population. Attention was directed

particularly to educational programming, including establishing a computer lab and after school homework help. Also, attention was directed to establishing a summer camp activity program, in addition to utilizing recreational and general activity programming.

Hammond, Indiana

The Hammond project involved educational enhancement activities. This club utilized space provided within a housing unit and shared with the housing department a common activity structure (a large hall which was also utilized by the resident's association and others for various purposes). The facilities served the club's membership, approximately 125 youth drawn primarily from the immediate housing area and from a nearby development, Turner Park.

During the site visit Drs. Pope and Lovell interviewed all club staff involved with the educational enhancement efforts (including the educational enhancement coordinator, interim club director, and all other staff involved), the principal of Wilson Elementary School (located adjacent to the housing development), a small sampling of program participants and parents, a representative of the Hammond Housing Authority, and the Director of Northwest Indiana Boys and Girls Clubs. In addition, Drs. Pope and Lovell reviewed club records related to the project. Hammond was not designated as a Weed and Seed city;

therefore, there was no Weed and Seed coordinator. Also, club administrators noted that no law enforcement agencies or other agencies were directly involved with the educational enhancement efforts.

Program efforts were underway by the end of October, 1992. Thirty-five club members were identified as those who would be tracked during the educational enhancement efforts. These youth were already club members and were not specifically recruited for this project. The educational enhancement activities were available to all club members, even though all were not tracked. The activities undertaken conformed to the "hi yield" notion. These included homework assistance and tutoring, art education and activities, computer assisted learning, regularly scheduled sessions in which an adult staff member and youth would read and then discuss the reading, cognitive games (e.g., Monopoly, Pictionary, Connect Four), and general discussion sessions of immediate importance to youth (e.g., drug/alcohol abuse). Club staff incorporated use of an incentive system based on awarding points for participation in designated activities and provision of small prizes and parties as rewards. General club resources were used extensively.

Las Vegas, Nevada

The Las Vegas effort was a comprehensive program focused on medical screening and services. This project was undertaken by the

Boys and Girls Clubs of Las Vegas. The primary location for the effort was the A.D. Guy unit, situated adjacent to Marble Manor, a housing development operated by the Las Vegas Housing Authority. The A.D. Guy facility is a large facility, including a gym, library area, art workshop, common activity areas, and outside activity areas.

During the site visit Drs. Pope and Lovell interviewed all staff involved with the medical intervention effort (including the comprehensive component coordinator, the medical service coordinator, and other staff directly involved), the administrator of Las Vegas Boys and Girls Clubs, the director of the Las Vegas Housing Authority, and a counselor from a nearby health clinic who was directly involved with this effort.

The medical efforts began with hiring a coordinator in October, 1992. Between October 29, 1992, and January, 1993, the medical coordinator established contacts with the medical community and the housing authority, interviewed selected parents, developed medical forms, developed an instrument for a needs assessment and conducted a needs assessment and health survey. A health fair was held in March, 1993, which included medical personnel from local health clinics and representatives of the School of Medicine, University of Nevada, Las Vegas. Youth were provided medical screenings and health education. Followups of the health fair included counseling for some youth and parents, referrals for provision of treatment needed immediately, and referrals for dental treatment. A second health fair was held during July,

1993, including Club personnel, medical personnel, and representatives of 36 additional agencies. Again, there were followups as noted above. In addition to the health fairs, ongoing health education and referral services were provided at the A.D. Guy location and at the main club location. The grant effort was seen as a prototype and a baseline experience to be used to expand and continue the medical efforts.

Little Rock, Arkansas

The Little Rock project was a comprehensive effort, focused on medical screening and services. This effort was undertaken by the North Little Rock Boys and Girls Club and involved establishing a health clinic in the North Little Rock Housing Authority's Hemlock public housing development, as a satellite to the North Little Rock main club. The satellite unit utilized space provided by the housing authority. A very important aspect of this effort was the establishment of a partnership with Arkansas Department of Public Health, which identified a registered nurse for the project, shared in funding the RN's salary, provided nurse supervision, provided assistance in organizing and equipping the clinic facility, and provided supervision for preparation and maintenance of medical records. Approximately 120 youth (potential service recipients) resided in the Hemlock development, and these were the target population for the project.

Drs. Greene and Lovell interviewed all club staff involved with the medical intervention effort (including the comprehensive component coordinator, the public health nurse providing medical services, the medical clerk employed at the clinic facility, and other staff directly involved), the administrator of the North Little Rock Boys and Girls Club, a small sampling of parents from the Hemlock development, the director of the North Little Rock Housing Authority, the regional nurse supervisor from the Arkansas Department of Public Health, the vice-president for operations of the Arkansas United Way, and a physician/administrator from the North Little Rock Baptist Hospital who served as a member of the community advisory team formed to provide guidance for the effort.

The medical effort began in August, 1992, with designation of the comprehensive component coordinator. This person organized the community advisory team, established the relationship with the Arkansas Department of Health, and conducted a health needs assessment in the Hemlock development. The clinic began operation March 8, 1993. Activities undertaken at the clinic included: (1) physical examinations of youth, (2) provision of immunizations for youth needing these, (3) provision of limited first aid services, (4) ongoing provision of health education and counseling of parents and youth regarding health issues, and (5) referral of youth to service providers for medical needs (many of these were recruited to provide services gratis). Surrounding and supporting these activities, the coordinator and staff made personal visits

to each parent and youth in the housing development to raise awareness of health issues and the services available through the clinic. The clinic operated Monday through Friday, from 1:00 PM until 5:00 PM, with all involved providing service time as needed and as possible during other hours. This effort was seen as one which would be continued indefinitely beyond the grant period and as one which would be expanded to serve youth in nearby areas.

Richmond, Virginia

The project in Richmond was operated by the Boys and Girls Clubs of Richmond, an affiliate of Boys and Girls Clubs of America. The effort undertaken was to provide a new club in public housing where previously there had been no presence. The new club was established in Richmond's Blackwell housing development, and was located within the Richmond Housing Authority's Blackwell administration building. The club shared space with other service agencies and with the tenant's association. The Blackwell Club also used space in a neighboring elementary school, as well as linking its members with the services of a program called Safe Havens, operated in the same area by the larger Weed and Seed effort of Richmond. The Blackwell area was designated as a Weed and Seed area.

The initial site visit was conducted by Drs. Greene and Bynum. During the time on site structured interviews were conducted with the executive director of the Boys and Girls Clubs of Richmond, the Blackwell unit manager, the Safe Havens program coordinator, and the director of the Richmond Redevelopment and Housing Authority. A visit to the unit was made and discussions with unit staff were held.

The emphasis of the Blackwell unit was youth development, support for reading, and other learning activities. Recreational activities also were provided. The new club start-up consisted of activities aimed at 1) building trust in the community, 2) building upon the recognized role of Boys and Girls clubs for sports and recreation-based activities, 3) extending relationships with other youth service agencies in the Blackwell community, and 4) improving relationships with local police. Effort at creating a learning environment by stressing educational and youth development programs such as Smart Moves was also undertaken. As noted earlier, the Safe Havens program was also utilized to provide a larger range of opportunities for the club's membership (approximately 200 youth).

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

The project undertaken in Philadelphia was to establish a new club presence in the Philadelphia Housing Authority's Fairhill Housing

Development. This effort was conducted by the Crime Prevention Association (CPA), Philadelphia Boys and Girls Clubs. Building space within Fairhill was to be utilized, with an established club, the R.W. Brown Community Center, as the base for operations. R.W. Brown was to be available for youth from Fairhill to provide services and facilities, such as a swimming pool, which could not be duplicated in Fairhill.

Drs. Greene and Lovell carried out the site visit. Interviews were conducted with the director of R.W. Brown, as well as with the director and the deputy director of the CPA. Additional interviews were not possible. The efforts to establish a unit in Fairhill had ceased at the time of the site visit, and the situation could be described at best as "in transition." Making headway with the project had been very difficult, as resistance from the resident's association and others was strong. Limited activities were begun in April, 1993, in Fairhill, but efforts to securely establish the unit failed by end of summer.

Recruitment efforts had been conducted in Fairhill, involving distribution of flyers informing residents of the proposed new services. A variety of programming was envisioned, centering on youth development, with focus on activities such as a reading "club" intended to make reading fun, as well as providing enrichment opportunities through field trips and activities at the R.W. Brown Community Center. Games and a basketball league were to be included. Liaison with Wanamaker Middle School had been effected, the idea being to provide remedial reading

and to design educational activities to supplement and go beyond the classroom.

Wilmington, Delaware

The project undertaken in Wilmington was an educational enhancement effort. This effort was conducted by the Boys and Girls Clubs of Delaware and was operated at the Jackson Street building, the original club site (1932) of this organization. Wilmington was designated as a Weed and Seed city. The club is not located in the Weed and Seed area, but it was reported that 75% of the club members reside in the targeted area, which is two blocks away. The Jackson Street club has approximately 500 members and conducts a full range of operations.

The initial site visit was carried out by Drs. Greene and Bynum. During the time on site structured interviews were conducted with the assistant executive director of the Boys and Girls Clubs of Delaware, the Jackson Street unit director and project coordinator, the Weed and Seed coordinator for Wilmington, the law enforcement liaison of the US Attorney's Office, and the director of the Wilmington Housing Authority. Informal interviews were conducted with community policing officers and administrators of community centers in the Weed and Seed area.

The programming activities conformed to the "hi yield" notion. "Hi yield" activities were already in existence, but the educational

enhancement project added a tracking component and an incentive system. In addition, the effort added a component for recruiting and targeting specific youth. The targeted youth were those living in public housing (scattered sites) in the Weed and Seed area. All educational enhancement activities were made available to all club members, the incentives were made available for all participants, and all participants were tracked. Thirty-six youth from the Weed and Seed area and an additional 45 club members participated in the educational enhancement project. Among the new activities provided were discussion with knowledgeable adults, "girl talk," Ghostwriter, and the Ultimate Journey program. Tutoring was offered from 4:00 PM to 8:30 PM, utilizing volunteer tutors from local businesses. Computer-assisted learning was provided. A goal was established for youth to participate in two sessions per week involving 30 minutes of computer assisted learning and 30 minutes with a tutor in each session. In addition, a parents group was established to foster parental involvement. An educational enhancement team was created composed of the unit director, a school representative, and one parent. This team met once per month and focused primarily on recruiting strategies to gain more participation from youth in the target area.

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

On August 12 and 13 Drs. William Feyerherm and Carl Pope conducted a site evaluation of the Pittsburgh Boys and Girls Club. The club site was located in Lawrenceville (in an area known as the Hill District) within Bedford Public Housing Development. There are three Public Housing Projects located within this area. Bedford was chosen because it was an area that was in most need of services (youth gangs and violence permeate the area). This was a comprehensive program geared toward the provision of medical services as well as providing traditional Boys and Girls Club programming (see below). In addition, it was a recently established Boys and Girls Club site.

During the course of the site visit the evaluation team met with and interviewed the president and chief executive officer of Western Pennsylvania, the outreach and services director, the Bedford Hills public housing director as well as the director of the local unit. In addition, the team attended meetings of the Bedford advisory board and the Reachout Program advisory committee (a program providing a variety of services across all sites). Records pertaining to club membership (case management) and medical screening were also reviewed.

The main thrust of the Boys and Girls Club involvement in this area was the provision of medical screening by a nurse practitioner. Screenings were done on a monthly basis, rotating different groups of

youth. Comprehensive screening included physical profiles (height, weight, blood pressure, etc.) and examination of eyes, ears and teeth. It took about six months start up time from the initiation of the grant to put medical screening into place, but by the time of the site visit the effort was up and ongoing. Part of the delay was attributable to normal start up problems and the remainder associated with the establishment of a new Boys and Girls Club site. In other words, site development and the arranging of medical screening were occurring simultaneously.

Fort Worth, Texas

Drs. Timothy Bynum and William Feyerherm visited the Fort Worth Boys and Girls Club on May 12 and 14, 1993. The Club is housed in a slightly remodeled residential unit in the Cavile housing development and is located in a "weed and seed" area. This was an educational enhancement program serving an area populated by 55,000 residents having no immediate medical service, no shopping areas or banks, no public transportation, and having a number of "open air drug markets."

During the course of the site visit interviews were conducted with the Club Executive Director, the director of the Cavile Club, club staff, principal and teachers at the M.I. Logan elementary school, housing authority representatives, residents of the Cavile housing area, police

command staff and line officers, the area Weed and Seed coordinator and the Weed and Seed community advisory group.

The educational enhancement program operated primarily with younger (elementary school) aged children. It provided for a variety of educational enrichment activities, homework assistance, community service activities (e.g., visits to nursing homes) and opportunities for contact with a range of responsible adults. The Club used an incentive (point) approach to encourage participation, with weekly rewards and a Friday party as short term reinforcement and field trips (e.g.,. visits to amusement parks) for longer term reinforcement. The "power sheets" used by youth as a supplement for homework were well designed for grade level. The Club was viewed as providing strong support for pro-social, educationally relevant activity.

Chicago, Illinois

On August 24 and 25, 1993, Drs. Rick Lovell and Carl Pope conducted a site evaluation of the Chicago Boys and Girls Club effort. The club site was located within Ida B. Wells public housing development, located on the south side of Chicago. Ida B. Wells was chosen as a site because it is located within a weed and seed impact area. This was a comprehensive program geared toward the provision of medical services as well as providing traditional Boys and Girls Club

programming. In addition, it was a recently established Boys and Girls Club site.

During the course of the site visit the evaluation team met with and interviewed the president and chief executive officer of the Chicago area Boys and Girls Clubs, the assistant vice president of operations, the district director for operations, the director of the Ida B. Wells unit, weed and seed representatives, and the public health nurse for medical screening. Records pertaining to club membership (case management) and medical screening were also reviewed.

The major objective of the comprehensive program was the provision of medical services aimed at prevention. The program was designed to initially evaluate 10 youth per day. Parents were required to provide a health history, be present, and have updated health records. For the youth, part of the program was to provide health education for parents. Records were to be maintained on those youths being screened, referrals were to be made when medical needs were noted, and club staff were to do follow up.

As of the date of the site visit no medical screenings had been conducted, but were scheduled to begin Friday, August 27. The grant funding period was to end on September 30th. The health nurse noted that all the equipment was in place (physical profiles) and everything was ready to go as scheduled. However, the effort was joined with establishment of a new site location.

This new site needed major physical renovations which took months to complete, and additional difficulties had delayed implementation.

North Seattle (Lake City), Washington

On September 9 and 10, 1993 Drs. William Feyerherm and Carl Pope conducted a site evaluation of the North Seattle Boys and Girls Club effort. The Club site was located within Lake City public housing development. This was a new site selected in order to enhance services and programming in the North Seattle area. It should be noted that this was not the originally selected site and is not located within a targeted weed and seed area. The original site (Yesler Terrace) was located in central Seattle and was tied into weed and seed programming. The problem was that there was an over emphasis on the "weed" approach (heavy law enforcement emphasis) and not much emphasis on the "seed" approach (community programming and re-structuring). Therefore, the residents of Yesler Terrace were not supportive of the weed and seed emphasis nor the development of a Boys and Girls Club within the unit. The Yesler Terrace resident's council felt that the Seattle Parks and Recreation Department was doing an adequate job within the area and saw no need for a new Boys and Girls Club. Subsequently, the Kings County Boys and Girls Club forwarded a new application targeting North

Seattle public housing for the development of a new club, which was approved and funded by National.

During the course of the site visit the evaluation team met with and interviewed the Branch Executive Director of North Seattle/Greenwood, the local unit director, representatives from public housing and others providing services within the area. Records pertaining to club membership (case management) were reviewed also. The evaluation team toured the area, including the target site and other sites with Boys and Girls Club programming.

The Club began programming by utilizing "walk in" activities, meaning that youth could choose the activities in which they wanted to participate. Summer activities (such as bingo, cooking, and baseball) were offered at specific times based upon the number of staff and volunteers available. Beginning in the Fall there were to be structured activities for which youth would register. The idea would be to provide more structure in order to maintain a high activity level and to encourage youth to stick with the activities they would choose. The Club offers a variety of traditional Boys and Girls Club activities including athletic activities, Smart Moves, Torch Club and Keystone. The plan would be to get youth involved and mainstream them into Club activities. Depending on available resources, the Club would later add programming for older youth, such as having a separate activity for them on a specific night.

The goal would be to involve teens more in Club activities and thus develop a more integrated age structure.

Harbor City/Harbor Gateway, California

On July 29 and 30, 1993, Drs. Carl Pope and William Feyerherm conducted a site evaluation of the Boys and Girls Club of Harbor City/Harbor Gateway effort. The club is located within the Normont Terrace public housing development in the city of Los Angeles and was engaged in educational enhancement activities. The main club facility is in a social hall which belongs to the resident council of Normont Terrace. Satellite facilities are located at the Normont Elementary School. The Club had been in existence as an independent entity for four years, having started through the efforts of the neighboring Wilmington Boys and Girls Club, with support from Kaiser Perminente and Holiday Inn, as well as other foundation support from California sources.

During the course of the site visit, the evaluation team met with the Club Executive Director, Education Director, Program Director and program staff, resident council officials, school officials, and police officials. Records pertaining to club membership and program participation were also reviewed.

Prior to the Weed and Seed project, the Boys and Girls Club was primarily a recreational facility, but did include some elements of

educational assistance for younger youth. The facility serves as an alternative high school, with support from the L.A. Unified District and Kaiser Permenente, but did not have educational programs and staff prior to BJA support. The project developed a satellite program at Normont Elementary School, with after-school homework support and structured activities for children provided by the Boys and Girls Club. In addition, structured activities within the Club provided additional educational enhancements. It should be noted that the school system in this area operates on a year-round basis, with one-quarter of students on a "break status" at any given time. Thus, the Club was not in the usual position of programming separately summer and academic year sessions. The five elements of the educational enhancement program included: tutorial assistance, library and reading encouragement, familiarization with computers, self expression and discussion opportunities, as well as providing an alternative to the "streets."

San Antonio, Texas

The project of the Boys and Girls Clubs of San Antonio was conducted in the Spring View Public Housing Complex (formerly Eastside Terrace). This was a new club location funded under the BJA initiative. San Antonio is a weed and seed city and the Spring View Boys and Girls Club is located within the weed and seed area. The catalyst for

expansion of the Boys and Girls Clubs in San Antonio to the Spring View Community came from a conference on establishing clubs in public housing sponsored by the Boys and Girls Club (National).

The initial site visit was conducted by Drs. William Feyerherm and Timothy Bynum on September 29 and 30, 1993. During the site visit interviews were conducted with the Club's Executive Director, the Board Chairperson for the Boys and Girls Clubs, Acting U.S. Attorney and Chair of the Weed and Seed Steering Committee, the Director of Planning for the San Antonio Police Department, the District Attorney, Unit Director of the Spring View Boys and Girls Club, Director of Operations for the Boys and Girls Club of San Antonio, Director of Community Development and Block Grant Program, a representative from San Antonio's "Fighting Back" Program, the Principal of Miller Elementary School and Spring View Resident.

The reputation of the Boys and Girls Clubs in San Antonio has been that of a traditional recreation-focused organization. However, it is now making the transition toward a youth development philosophy. The Spring View Club includes a "safe haven" program, a keystone club and an adopt-a-grandparent program, as well as numerous special events aimed at older youth. The club is well integrated into the service delivery community and commitment to this new facility is considerable.

Greensboro, North Carolina

The project in Greensboro was operated by the Salvation Army Boys and Girls Clubs of Greensboro (originally formed by the Salvation Army and later affiliated with the Boys and Girls Clubs of America). The Greensboro Boys and Girls Clubs operate from six sites, two of which are located in public housing. The immediate project for this grant was conducted at the Morningside Homes Public Housing–not located in a weed and seed area.

The initial site visit was conducted by Drs. Jack Greene and Timothy Bynum on June 3rd and 4th, 1993. During this time, on site interviews were conducted with the Executive Director of the Boys and Girls Club, the Program Coordinator, the Administrative Assistant and several members of the Advisory Board of the Salvation Army Boys and Girls Club Comprehensive Intervention Program. In addition, interviews with two of the site personnel were obtained during a de-briefing conducted by the National Boys and Girls Club. This meeting was held July 8th and 9th in New York and involved all the Comprehensive Sites.

The Greensboro Boys and Girls Clubs are reasonably well integrated with other youth services agencies in this community and have direct funding from several sources for programming activities. Outreach activities included strong relationships with the Parks and Recreation

programs, the establishment of relationships with the county medical systems and linkages with mental health support systems. Also linkage with dental services were made by the Morningside Club as part of the comprehensive undertaking. While the comprehensive program viewed itself primarily as a "screening and referral" facility, it was clear that emergency interventions also occurred to the extent that the program was used by residents as the first avenue for medical service and/or treatment.

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

Overall, the fifteen projects described above were initiated and conducted with commitment and much energy by each of the club organizations. The Boys and Girls Clubs of America and the affiliate organizations are to be commended for their long-term interest in America's youth, particularly youth who are "at risk."

In considering this report, it is very important to visualize those portions of our small, medium, and large cities where resources which support the healthy development of youth are not a regular or automatic part of the lives of American youth. In an aggregate sense, most cities and counties in this country appear to have much to offer to youth. However, if one takes care to disaggregate the image, one finds large numbers of youth whose practical limits are their central city neighborhoods, where few developmental opportunities or other services are available. It is this situation that the Boys and Girls Clubs continue to address. In doing so the

Boys and Girls Clubs follow the crucial path to assisting America's youth in attaining law-abiding and productive lives.

Prevention Perspective

Prevention has become a watchword for efforts to reduce gang formation, to address problems of group delinquency, to thwart involvement of youth with drugs and reduce drug offenses, and to lead at risk youth into becoming responsible, productive citizens. Prevention is an underlying and a central dimension to the projects undertaken and reported on here. One must understand that without a major national commitment to prevention, the problems these projects were designed to address will only worsen.

Nonetheless, prevention is more easily discussed than realized. The rubric of prevention encompasses a large set of potential strategies which may be pursued in many ways. In other words, there is no singular approach, no single package of approaches which is definitely preventive or known to be generally preventive. Those concerned with the problems of delinquency and problems of at risk youth now recognize the need for primary prevention -- reaching youth with developmental and healthful approaches as early in their lives as possible.

Even though there is no precisely discernible set of keys to success with every young person, research and practical experience show that, especially for inner city at risk youth, approaches built on a "full-service" concept are required. "Full service" means providing at risk youth with alternatives (positive social organizations) and with services which are essential to healthful development in every sense. The effort must

be to appeal to the interests of youth, building upon the inducement of positive activities to gain participation and acceptance of desirable values. Educational activities are critical. The logic of education as preparation for a reasonable and fulfilling life in this country needs no exposition. Affording access to medical services and health education is an essential component, for it is a losing proposition to think of building a positive attitude when health and health concerns erode the basis for a life of reasonable quality. "Full-service" does mean more, complete attention to the full set of needs and realities confronting youth, especially at risk youth. Altogether, and most important, there must be long term commitment and a positive youth development orientation.

The dilemma we are facing is that there are too few organizations situated within inner city areas and committed to reaching the at risk youth who live there. Certainly, one may find local efforts of note in many cities, and one may find a fairly large number of public and private efforts in many cities offering limited opportunities of various sorts. One will also find that many organizations having the "full service" capacity have retreated to suburbs or more desirable areas to pursue more favorable and more traditional market orientations. However, Boys and Girls Clubs of America and its affiliate organizations have made a commitment to stay and expand services in the areas where their presence and services are most desperately needed. From the perspective of national policy, it is clear that means must be found and pursued to increase such commitment, even to the point of changing national priorities in enormous ways. From the standpoint of this report, one must understand that each club staff faced a large undertaking but proceeded with dedication and the knowledge

that Boys and Girls Clubs have been and are continuing to be committed to inner city youth for as long as there is need.

Promising Elements

During the time from March, 1993, through September, 1993, the evaluators conducted the first round of site visits and the other activities discussed earlier in this report. Each site was visited at least once by two evaluators, and each was either re-visited or followups were conducted by telephone where the special emphasis programs continued. All persons involved with these projects were cooperative and forthcoming during all phases of the assessment. Each of the members of the evaluation team was impressed with the commitment to youth, especially to working with at risk youth, shown by every administrator and every staff person interviewed. It is very important to understand that the persons implementing the projects are working daily "in the trenches." They are committed to making a real difference in the lives of as many youth as possible. Each of these persons deserves special recognition for his/her efforts and for living as a positive model to youth.

The various projects were funded each at the level of approximately fifty thousand dollars, with some possibility of a small additional increment in some cases. In a strong sense "effort" or "project" may be more appropriate terms than "program" to refer to the activities of the various clubs. The funds provided did not support discrete "programs," although two of the comprehensive/medical efforts could be seen as being "programs." The clubs applied the funds received in somewhat different ways, even where similar aims were undertaken (i.e., among the educational

enhancement efforts, the new comprehensive/medical efforts, the new club efforts.) Funding was used primarily to increase the number of hours or work time for staff directly involved with the various efforts, in a couple of instances to hire new staff or create new positions such as educational enhancement coordinator, and/or to provide for or contribute to activities which would be beneficial to the target groups.

An important aim of this evaluation was to articulate "what worked well" during implementation. These projects all served as demonstrations, and it is essential that those elements of implementation be documented which worked and could be used by others to inform themselves regarding planning for and engaging in later, similar undertakings. Promising elements of implementation are described below, by type of effort.

COMPREHENSIVE/MEDICAL

Five "comprehensive" efforts were funded, with the emphasis of each to be placed on initiating mechanisms in the selected club areas to provide at least 1) health education and 2) health screening for the targeted youth. One project achieved only minimal results in getting started and did not become firmly established. Two projects became established and provided a threshold level of services. One project was very well developed and can serve to inform others of viable mechanisms for success. This project was excellent in almost all respects but did come to an end with the end of the grant period. The fifth project was remarkable; deserves to be considered as a model for others; and, most important, has continued beyond the grant period with every prospect of becoming a permanent aspect of club operation. This fifth project,

operated by the Boys and Girls Clubs of North Little Rock, is highlighted later in this section.

There are several areas to discuss regarding positive elements when reviewing the five projects. To begin, the move to emphasize health education and limited medical services, particularly health screening, meant for each of the clubs establishing operations in directions new to these clubs. There was no singular model to follow, and each of the five clubs was at least somewhat unique in the approach taken.

Networking

Establishing new relationships and building upon those already established was essential for the comprehensive/medical efforts to become viable. Technical expertise was needed regarding health education and provision of medical screenings, project staff would have to maintain adequate medical records, there would have to be service providers for referrals to take care of immediate medical needs, adequate facilities would have to be provided, and assistance in building trust with residents of the targeted areas would be necessary. Regarding trust, one must understand that residents of the typical target areas do not necessarily even avail themselves of nearby clinics and medical services. One must know that several factors contribute to this situation, including: 1) parents' and youths' lack of knowledge and sometimes lack of interest concerning health and health issues, 2) lack of trust, 3) gang turf - a reality in many areas is that residents must be careful about safety and where they venture

to go, and, among others 4) even personal finances so slim that money for transportation is an obstacle.

All five clubs engaged in networking and coordination of efforts with other organizations and agencies. This was essential for the medical efforts. Each club developed a community advisory panel or team to provide guidance for these efforts and to increase the reach of the club in making additional connections. Networking is a typical feature of Boys and Girls Clubs operations, but these efforts required developing new relationships in each community.

The North Little Rock Club took what turned out to be the strongest direction in establishing a relationship to extend beyond the grant period. After establishing an advisory team, the comprehensive coordinator and club administrator approached the Arkansas Department of Public Health and formed a partnership for action. This partnership provided partial funding for long term operation, assistance in identifying and hiring a qualified public health nurse and clerk to establish a clinic within a public housing development, technical assistance and supervision for clinic operations and maintenance of individual medical records, and assistance in the form of provision of equipment and supplies for clinic operation. One would not want to diminish the value of a relationship established with the North Little Rock Housing authority which provided credibility with housing residents and building space for operations, and there were other valuable relationships established (for example, with health service providers, for referrals). However, the partnership with the Department of Public Health was the major key to long term operation.

The Las Vegas Clubs operation, the fourth project mentioned above, took a different form. Rather than establishing a continuous clinic operation, the emphasis was placed on conducting health fairs and medical screenings. The comprehensive coordinator and Las Vegas Club leaders formed a strong network for provision of technical assistance, medical screenings, and referral services. Central to this network was a relationship with the Medical School of the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, and a very active effort at enlisting the direct involvement of more than a score of other organizations and agencies. Again, as well, a relationship with the housing authority was critical. One of the points to be emphasized in developing an effort of this sort is that energies must be devoted up-front to identifying the resources available in a community. Sometimes those undertaking such efforts fail to identify or to approach the organizations and agencies that have the necessary resources and the expertise required for success. With North Little Rock and with Las Vegas, there are two key points. First, creating the position of comprehensive coordinator was essential. Second, staffing the position with energetic, articulate, and experienced organizers was most important. With both clubs, the people in the positions, supported by committed leadership, made the efforts work.

Needs Assessment

With the two projects which were most well-developed, staff conducted extensive, formal needs assessments. In both efforts, surveys of the target populations in public housing areas were accomplished. In both cases, the comprehensive coordinators designed assessment instruments with some assistance

from cooperating health care professionals. These formal assessments were important to implementation and continued development of the efforts.

First, ascertaining the extent and nature of health care needs and issues regarding health care in the targeted areas was most important. The assessments allowed the project staff to recognize and prioritize the most pressing needs and to gear their efforts to addressing those needs. For example, one could operate from an assumption that every child needs immunizations and prepare in some general way to provide immunizations. However, one actually needs to know the ages of children in the targeted population, the situation regarding each child (whether the child has had all or any necessary immunizations; where the child may be in the cycle or series of immunizations; whether parent(s) and child have appropriate knowledge concerning immunizations), the aggregate situation (in order to prioritize and plan concerning such an issue), and other information relevant to understanding the situation in the targeted area. Such information should be collected for the range of health care concerns. This is necessary in order to tailor the effort to local needs. One size fits all approaches, or approaches based on impressionistic notions regarding needs and priorities, result in haphazard efforts. In particular, one result can be that those who most need immediate care are not seen.

Second, conducting these needs assessments brought project staff to grips with the requirement to design strategies for building trust in the targeted areas. Going door to door to elicit participation in the assessments acquainted staff, especially the coordinators, with those parents who could be relied upon for support and with those who would have to be reached. The coordinators also became acquainted with the

necessity of trying different means and expending much up-front energy to build trust and understanding.

In short, the needs assessments were an essential component. Where these were accomplished in a comprehensive manner, there were important results, some of which may have been unexpectedly beneficial.

Medical Records

Maintenance of medical records did not receive consistent attention across the five comprehensive/medical projects. The staff of all five projects were aware of the requirement to keep medical records. However, the emphases varied. With the two most well-developed efforts, maintenance of records received much appropriate attention. The records systems were established with technical assistance from medical professionals in each of these projects. In North Little Rock, as mentioned earlier, the Arkansas Department of Public Health provided start-up assistance with records, the records were maintained by a trained clerk, a public health nurse was the immediate supervisor, and the regional supervising RN periodically checked the records.

The importance of appropriately establishing and maintaining the medical records cannot be overemphasized. Records must accompany youth on referral visits, and records must be seen as permanent, extending beyond any specified grant period. This is an area of operation which must receive due attention in planning and where meticulous practice must be the standard during implementation. The North Little Rock approach holds the greatest long term promise. Even if the project were to

end, the Department of Public Health can continue to maintain the records. Where no provision is made regarding maintaining the records after project termination, there should be large concern.

Referrals

Most Boys and Girls Clubs maintain relationships in their areas for referral of members who have immediate medical needs. This is a necessary aspect of operation, especially since club staff interact regularly with youth who live in conditions of poverty. The comprehensive/medical projects required establishing a set of relationships different in nature and in number. Conducting medical screenings and opening access to youth who had not been club members would ensure the identification of many more immediate and long-term medical needs for many more youth than previously encountered.

The most promising arrangement was in North Little Rock. There, the Department of Public Health partnership could provide access to a full range of services. This arrangement was supplemented by relationships with Baptist Hospital and other private providers, who donated their services. It is important to understand that North Little Rock Boys and Girls Clubs has capitalized on many years of effort by the leadership to establish and maintain such relationships. The partnership with the Department of Public Health added to this and undoubtedly resulted from the foundation already developed.

The Las Vegas consortium of agencies, and the relationship with the UNIV. Medical School, was well-developed and strong. This arrangement demonstrated the

degree to which cooperation could be obtained. The energy devoted by the coordinator and the LV Clubs leadership was the key, along with the foundation developed over years of previous networking activities. The idea at the end of the grant period was to continue medical screenings and health education in some way, and the network established certainly could support continuation.

EDUCATIONAL ENHANCEMENT EFFORTS

Five clubs engaged in educational enhancement projects. There was much commonality in approach. All of these efforts achieved implementation and, as identifiable projects, continued at least to the specified end of the grant period. Four of the projects were roughly similar. The fifth project was most notable, deserves special consideration by others planning this type of endeavor, and, most important, has continued beyond the grant period as an identifiable effort. This project, operated by the Boys and Girls Clubs of Harbor City is highlighted in comments below.

There are several areas to discuss regarding positive elements when reviewing the five projects. The central idea underlying each of the projects was to implement activities based on what has been termed a "high yield" focus. "High yield" activities are defined as those activities that provide abundant opportunities for children to practice activities such as reading, writing, verbal communication, problem solving, and decision making. High yield activities may take place in school and out of school. These projects were designed to provide structured high yield activities which would take place out of school. Elements of project design would focus on motivating youth to engage in the high yield activities and on tracking 40 youth who would be targeted

to participate in the project. High yield activities would be made available to all club members, but the forty youth targeted would be tracked.

As project sites, each club agreed to:

- assign an educational enhancement coordinator
- organize and involve an educational enhancement program team in project planning and implementation
- implement prescribed educational enhancement activities for youth between the ages of 6 and 12
- develop and implement an incentive structure to encourage and reward participation in the high yield activities
- track the involvement and progress of 20 members between the ages of 6 and 9 and 20 members between the ages of 10 and 12, and
- implement an orientation and training program to help parents support the educational development of their children.

The specified elements were addressed by each of the five projects. Each of the clubs was somewhat unique in the approaches taken in doing so. Promising elements are discussed below.

Hi Yield Learning Activities

A rather large array of activities was in evidence across the projects. Project staff reported those which seemed to be most successful. There were no rigorous determinations of changes in participants' abilities; instead these reports were based on observations by staff concerning participation in activities, enthusiasm of

participants, comments by participants, and perceptions of increases in participants' interest in learning. The reported most successful activities were:

- Hammond - impromptu speech contest, Art Writer, Ghostwriter, Homework, Phonics Power, and Creative Writing
- Atlanta - Saying No, and Super Stars (Substance Use Prevention Education Resources Self-esteem Through Arts and Recreation Sessions)
- Wilmington - The Ultimate Journey, Story Porch, Visiting Artist Program, homework help, and Pen Pals
- Harbor City - Magic Circle (speakers, environmental information, cultural awareness), Creating Line Designs, Stories with a Pocket Chart
- Fort Worth - Power Pages (giving participants an extra opportunity to practice and reinforce skills and concepts learned in school by completing funfilled pages of grade appropriate problems and questions).

Clearly, different activities were seen as successful across the projects. No one activity or package emerged, but each of the activities specified by staff accounts elicited the most interest and participation. Given the relatively short duration of the grant period, other potential effects could not realistically be gauged.

High Yield Focus

The focus on high yield activities deserves comment. The project clubs, and others, include activities which fit the high yield notion as part of the usual routine. The youth development dimension of Boys and Girls Clubs operations has, for years, included and resulted in establishment of programs such as SMART Moves and

others with high yield emphasis. With the grant efforts, high yield was cast in high relief. In other words, the notion was articulated and set within structured direction. Club staff were able to put together the conceptual foundation and the activity components to visualize the associations among the broad aims of youth development, the high yield notion, various learning activities, school liaison, and continuing commitment to such direction. While some had previously made the associations, for others the emphasis brought clarity and a foundation upon which to organize their thoughts and experiences regarding youth development and learning activities. This was quite positive and deserves consideration by others, since not only staff, but all involved, benefit from a coherent understanding of the tasks-at-hand and the aims these are to address.

Educational Enhancement Coordinator

Establishing the coordinator position, and staffing the position with an energetic, articulate organizer was most important to operation of these projects. Making sure that the necessary resources were in place and guiding day-to-day efforts were necessary, but could not be accomplished without a strong coordinator. The value of the right person in this position actually emerged in effecting liaison with schools and in attempting to elicit parental involvement. In general, obtaining parental involvement was a large problem, as is typical with most efforts of this sort targeting at risk youth. However, there was limited success across the programs. Where there was some parental involvement, coordinators had devoted much time and energy to personal visits, appeals, and persuasion.

Boys and Girls Clubs continuously seek ways to involve parents and increase parental involvement. The project efforts along these lines fit within the larger club efforts and capitalized on continuing activities such as hosting a meal for parents (sometimes parents and youth), providing other social occasions designed to bring parents to the club, and making home visits when possible. The importance of the coordinator position was to make this an assigned task, targeting specific parents. Again, success was limited, but, in an anecdotal sense, the evaluation team was able to interview a few parents at each site who had become involved. To have a strong and lasting effect, educational enhancement activities must have parental support and be carried out at home as well as during structured participation at the club.

Also, it was most important that school liaison be accomplished, that school officials and teachers understand the educational enhancement efforts, and that they support the efforts. Effecting school liaison is another continuing element of Boys and Girls Clubs operation. However, with all there is to do, school liaison can be neglected or can be rather unfocused. Assigning this responsibility within the context of the project resulted across the efforts in what appeared to be stronger club-school relationships and in apparent support for the efforts.

The Boys and Girls Club at Harbor City engages in an extremely successful educational enhancement program. The educational enhancement coordinator, as well as other staff, were very successful in developing linkages with local community groups including the residents' council and the public housing authority. The resident council representatives indicated a good deal of support for the Club, noting that the space used by the Club was for resident use, but the Club was given sole use. It was

also noted that the Club served as a stabilizing influence to counterbalance the gangs and also noted that the gangs tended to treat the Club as a safe area.

As noted earlier, this Club was originally a recreational facility with some elements of educational assistance for younger youth. BJA support enabled this Club to focus on educational enhancements and "high yield" activities as a primary objective. For example, the Club developed a satellite program in Normont elementary school with after school homework support and structured activities. In the area of tutorial assistance, the Club hired an on-site teacher (and assistant) from the elementary school to help with problem areas. The notion behind this assistance was to create games and fun activities based upon what the youth liked to do and what they needed to learn. The Club made a reading area and materials (primarily donated) available, providing support for reading in addition to that provided by the Club at the elementary school. Both the tutorial and reading program utilized incentives to encourage and maintain youth in program activities. At the time of the first visit, computer based facilities and instructions were not fully implemented and equipment was lacking. Club activities also included some field trips, programs such as Ultimate Journey, geography lessons and guided discussions of current events as well as Keystone, Torch Club, sports activities and summer day camp program.

At the end of the grant period the after school tutoring at Normont Elementary School was terminated due to lack of funds. However, tutoring and related programs continued at the Club site as the new acting executive director continued to coordinate educational enhancement activities. A new educational enhancement coordinator was recently hired (at the time of the second site visit) and will be responsible for

establishing three satellite programs at elementary schools based upon the Normont program model. The Club was able to establish a computer utilization program having obtained eight working computers.

In January, 1993 there was a major turnover in staff including the resignation of the executive director. With the appointment of acting executive director (former educational enhancement coordinator), continuation of some staff and new hirings the Club has successfully overcome the problems due to staff resignations. The Harbor City Club was moving ahead in a positive direction and has been successful in involving parents in activities as well as older teens. It was clear from respondent interviews that educational enhancement programming continues to be the core of Club activities. Without the initial funding from National it would have been extremely difficult for the Club to engage in these activities at the level it has. Furthermore, the Club has been active in securing additional monies and resources to continue and broaden educational enhancement activities. For example, the Club obtained $25,000 in private contributions including a $10,000 grant from the Taco Bell Foundation. In addition, the Club received a donation of 1500 books from First Book which will enhance the reading program and serve as a venue for increased parental involvement.

The Harbor City Boys and Girls Club at Normont Terrace is a viable program and is branching out to serve other areas (e.g., Lomita) as well as developing additional satellite programs at elementary schools. It has overcome some major problems (e.g., staff resignations) and is moving forward in a positive direction. This program serves as an effective model for success.

NEW CLUB EFFORTS

In a previous study concerning public housing areas with newly established Boys and Girls Clubs, existing Boys and Girls Clubs, or no Clubs, Schinke, Orlandi, and Cole concluded that Boys and Girls Clubs "exert a positive and palpable influence on the human and physical environment (...)" (1991: 4). As they further observed:

> [Clubs] stimulate communication between public housing residents, the police, housing authority managing personnel, and other community groups. The increase in communication seems to have enriched the social quality of life in public housing. This informal interaction and communication is perhaps the most important effect of Boys and Girls Clubs and it is also the most difficult to measure. (1991: 4)

As noted earlier in this report, for many youth who reside in America's inner cities there are few alternatives to the streets. Also, as noted earlier in this report, especially regarding inner city neighborhoods, many of the organizations capable of providing focal points for prevention of crime and for community recovery have relocated or disappeared.

The purpose of the new club start-up projects was to establish a positive and lasting presence in public housing areas where youth had few or no alternatives to the streets. The idea was, and is, to introduce stable organizations having the capacity to provide a broad array of youth development possibilities, a "full-service" concept for operation, and the potential of remaining for the long haul.

Five new club start-up projects were assessed in this evaluation. Four of the new clubs succeeded through initiation stages and through the end of the grant

period. One of these four, operated by the San Antonio Boys and Girls Clubs in the Spring View Housing Complex, was most notable and deserves special consideration by others planning such ventures. This effort is highlighted in the discussion below. One of the four, operated by the North Seattle Boys and Girls Clubs within the Lake City public housing development, was not established in the originally selected site (Yesler Terrace, central Seattle) and was not located within a designated Weed and Seed area. The fifth project, undertaken by the Crime Prevention Association, Philadelphia Boys and Girls Clubs, failed to establish an ongoing club presence in Philadelphia's Fairhill housing development. The problems encountered in Seattle and Philadelphia are instructive and are addressed in the section of this report concerning implementation difficulties. Promising elements of project implementation are discussed below.

Networking/Building Trust and Acceptance

The central dimension for new club start-up success or failure is networking. Building trust and acceptance are most critical elements, along with establishing external resource support. As noted earlier, communication and positive interactions which contribute to mobilization of others in support of a new club are essential and also are most difficult to measure.

The San Antonio project capitalized on years of networking effort. Previously established relationships with Parks and Recreation and especially with the National Basketball Association franchise, the San Antonio Spurs, had contributed to a strong reputation for the San Antonio Clubs. Particularly important in the San Antonio project

was the initial orientation the San Antonio Clubs leadership. From the outset, the executive director emphasized including representatives of other organizations in planning and conceptualizing the new club start-up.

For example, representatives of the Community Development Block Grant Program (CDBG) and a representative of the San Antonio Housing Authority were asked to attend a conference in Washington, D.C., on establishing new clubs, along with the executive director and project staff. The inclusive approach contributed to obtaining financial and other resource-oriented participation by these other agencies and most likely ensured the successful implementation of the new club in Spring View.

Also, the Executive Director of San Antonio Clubs was demanding in his commitment to opening a "first rate" facility. In his view, the youth in public housing communities often are treated as being second rate, and if a second rate club (one that is opened with second rate facilities and equipment) is opened, then this reinforces the view that these youth are second rate.

In this regard, the housing authority contributed three adjacent apartments (in a building of four). These apartments were totally refurbished and reconstructed to form a Boys and Girls Club. Walls were removed to make this a single unit with easy access to downstairs areas that housed offices and other specialized areas, such as a craft area. New equipment was purchased and the entire area painted in bright colors. Considerable effort was put forth to portray the new club as a "positive place." This represented a large investment on the part of the San Antonio Housing Authority. In some other areas where new clubs were initiated in public housing, the housing

authority granted the use of a single apartment unit in which few, if any, modifications were made.

In fact, the executive director noted that although there had been $75,000 available in pass-through funds from Boys and Girls Clubs of America for the project, the first year operating budget for this project exceeded $150,000. The additional funds were provided from city funds and from CDBG. It is anticipated that these will be continuing sources of revenue for the operation of the Spring View Club.

Beyond this, San Antonio is one of the few areas where coordination with other (primarily law enforcement) Weed and Seed efforts was strong. In some areas there was no relationship at all. Other Weed and Seed efforts contributed directly to the San Antonio project. For example, the largest was a "demolition project" which involved clearing of an area and the construction of a ball field located near the Spring View Club. It is important to note that this demolition and construction project was made possible through an alliance with the United States Army, a resource overlooked in many areas. Fort Sam Houston is located within two miles of the Weed and Seed area, and collaboration offered the opportunity to bring to bear the considerable expertise and resources present at such an installation.

In addition, Weed and Seed included 2 PAL officers, 1 D.A.R.E. officer, and a bike patrol in this area. Also funded was an officer assigned to San Antonio Fighting Back, a drug prevention program. All of these dovetailed with the establishment of the Spring View Club.

Continuing Commitment

In followup to establishment of the Spring View (San Antonio) Club, there were notable developments. The San Antonio leadership had begun a concerted effort to enlist corporate involvement. In addition to inviting more corporate executives to sit on the club's board, a quarterly newsletter was initiated. A consulting firm handled the writing, publications, and mailing of the newsletter for approximately $1500 per issue. Donations received from each issue more than paid for the newsletter. A local bank offered the organization a $250,000 line of credit that the bank secured. In addition, the bank's CEO identified business leaders who would assist in fund raising activities. As a bottom line, it was noted that San Antonio's business community would support continuation of the effort if the message could be sent.

Finally, A HUD grant had been approved to reconstruct the Spring View Development. All residential units in the complex are to be demolished and reconstructed as single family housing, and a high rise for seniors is to be constructed. The Spring View Boys and Girls Clubs is included in the plans. This facility will be put on the same level as other San Antonio club facilities, and may include a pool. Commitment to this effort and building the necessary relationships has provided the crucial set of elements. For those engaging in similar future projects, these are the keys.

Problem Elements

The previous section identified a number of promising aspects associated with Boys and Girls Clubs educational enhancement and comprehensive/medical

programming, as well as the establishment of new sites in public housing developments. Just as there were numerous promising elements underscoring these activities, there were also some elements that were not so promising. These problem elements may serve to limit, curtail, or in some instances, eliminate effective programming by Boys and Girls Clubs within public housing. Some of these elements are specific to public housing, while others may be more universal and cut across more general programming activities of the Boys and Girls Clubs. Nonetheless, each of these potential "hazards" need to be assessed in order to enhance special emphasis programming as well as the more traditional activities of the Boys and Girls Clubs.

Before beginning this section some observations are in order. First, the evaluation team noted that there were substantially more positive then negative aspects associated with the activities of the Boys and Girls Clubs during the project period. As noted in the last section, we were constantly impressed with the high level of commitment of Boys and Girls Club staff in working with, and programming for, disadvantaged youth. Second, with one possible exception (Philadelphia, to be discussed below) there were no failures. While there were differences with regard to degrees of success, each of the sites met at least some of their original objectives. Some sites engaged in successful programming activities during the grant period but were either unable to continue after funding ended or the programming was severely curtailed (e.g., Las Vegas, comprehensive/medical and Hammond, educational enhancement). In other instances, Clubs were delayed for a variety of reasons in initiating special emphasis programming which, in turn, severely curtailed the delivery

of services (e.g., Chicago, comprehensive/medical). Some Clubs were more successful than others in developing a "full service" approach and maintaining a high level of programming. Nonetheless, where youth have few or no developmental opportunities, even limited successes may contribute to quality of life.

Each of the target Clubs did attempt to accomplish the goals which were originally intended. In most instances services were provided which were previously either non-existent or very limited in scope. This is especially true with regard to the provision of medical services. As noted earlier, many residents of public housing do not receive adequate preventive medical care due to a variety of reasons, such as lack of transportation to public health facilities, the risk of crossing violent and gang infested areas, or the distrust often associated with the impersonal delivery of public health services. Thus, medical screening on site did provide a valuable service, even if only for a short period of time. Similarly, educational enhancement programs served a needed purpose in that many youth residing in public housing are educationally disadvantaged. Poor grades, absenteeism, disciplinary problems and the like are unfortunate characteristics often associated with life in public housing. While many of the Clubs previously engaged in some form of educational assistance, the grant provided the opportunity to increase these efforts and, in some instances, make this a focal point of programming within the Club. The establishment of new Clubs where none previously existed brought new opportunities for youth, with positive results within a safe environment.

One final caveat is in order. The potential problems discussed below are not, in and of themselves, complete blocks to effective programming. Rather, they are issues

that need to be recognized and carefully considered in order to enhance programming activities. Moreover, where programming activities were affected, there was usually a combination of factors contributing to a set of problems, rather than one specific problem to be addressed. With this in mind, we begin our discussion of potential problem elements.

Special Emphasis Programming and New Site Selection

There were some instances where special emphasis programming was undertaken at a newly established Boys and Girls Club site within public housing. For example, both the Pittsburgh and Chicago Boys and Girls Clubs established the delivery of comprehensive/medical screening at new sites. The Bedford Hills site in Pittsburgh was selected because it was perceived as a previously neglected area in dire need of services. It is an area saturated with drug use and trafficking, violence and sporadic gang activity. Although this is a weed and seed site, it is not very active with regard to community programs and, moreover, has a heavy law enforcement concentration.

The comprehensive approach involved the provision of medical screening by a nurse practitioner (physical profiles with regard to height, weight, blood pressure, etc.). Screenings were conducted on a monthly basis, rotating different groups of youth. Medical screening was viewed by Boys and Girls Club representatives as part of a collaborative approach, an extension of their programming activities, and as a needed service within the target area. Although there are a number of hospitals near the area and a medical center not too distant from Bedford Hills, these are rarely used by the

residents. Public transportation is expensive for residents and not easily accessible. There is a large amount of fear and distrust by residents of "official" medical services, which are often viewed as "cold" and "impersonal". Further, there are serious territorial problems. There is little crossover among the three public housing developments in the area (Bedford, Allequippa and Broadhead) or the neighborhoods that surround them. In other words, because of turf and gang problems residents are afraid to venture out of the immediate area.

In reality, it took about six months from the initiation of the grant period to put medical screening into place and have it up and running. Part of this delay was attributed to normal start up problems and the remainder was associated with the establishment of a new Boys and Girls Club site. Site development and the arranging of medical services were occurring simultaneously, which, in tandem, created major problems.

In Chicago, Ida B. Wells was selected because it was located in a weed and seed area and also provided an opportunity to establish a Boys and Girls Club presence in an area were services were sorely needed. Substance abuse and gang activities were noted as problems in this area. As in Pittsburgh, provision of medical services has been a problem in this area because of distrust and transportation problems (most residents cannot or do not get to the clinics). The major objective of the comprehensive program was the provision of medical services aimed at prevention. The program goal was to evaluate 10 youth per day. While provisions for medical screenings were in place and the assistance of a nurse practitioner had been obtained, no screenings actually occurred prior to expiration of the grant period.

Part of the delay in the Ida B. Well unit was attributed to establishing a new Club unit, which opened in February 1993. As noted by respondents, getting the Club up and fully operational was a time consuming and difficult task. The physical site had to be completely renovated, which took much longer than anticipated. The new Club director had to spend much of his time hiring staff, building trust with resident youth and tenants, developing linkages with the "weed and seed" coordinators and public housing representatives. Unfortunately, many of the problems associated with the development of a new site continued and became more severe, resulting in the termination of medical screening (approximately 30 youth received health screening during limited operation after the formal end of the grant period) and the closing of the site. Continued physical problems (e.g., lack of adequate heat, electrical difficulties) had a major impact on Club programming. In addition, the Public Housing Authority was in a period of transition and did not adequately support the physical needs of the Club.

These two examples underscore the difficulties associated with establishing a new club presence, while at the same time trying to develop special emphasis programming (in this case, medical screenings). As noted below, careful consideration should be given when there is an attempt to do both. All things being equal, the better approach is to develop special emphasis programming within previously well-established clubs.

Networking, Coordination and Provision of Services

Networking, coordination, and provision of services are obviously very important aspects with regard to the activities of the Boys and Girls Clubs. For example, the Clubs must effectively coordinate with other services providers (recreation departments, local police, Salvation Army, Boys and Girl Scouts and other agencies serving the needs of youth) if they are to operate in an efficient and effective manner. Similarly, there must be the ability to develop and maintain the support and cooperation of parents and youth as well as various community agencies, such as schools and police. This becomes especially important in developing new clubs and special emphasis programming in public housing. For example, public housing residents are often distrustful of "outsiders" coming in, especially were there have been past problems. During the course of the evaluation it was quite common for residents across various sites to express their concern regarding programs that came in for a limited period of time and then left. Similarly, the Public Housing Authority and resident associations play a vital role with regard to the success or failure of various programs.

Some Clubs did experience particular difficulty with regard to their ability to effectively network, coordinate and provide services, while other Clubs did not. The Warren Club in Atlanta, which serves the Englewood Manor and Thomasville Heights housing developments and the surrounding areas provides one example. Although successful with regard to educational enhancement programming, there were numerous difficulties with regard to coordination of activities and duplication of services. In Atlanta, as with other cities, the educational enhancement efforts were

implemented within the context of many other efforts, both public and private. Therefore, there were a number of competing interests, with the lack of an overall mechanism for coordination and cooperation.

The "Seed" portion of Weed and Seed was very similar to project Atlanta which included approximately sixteen "cluster sites" in the metro area. In addition to project Atlanta there was a host of similar efforts organized by various agencies, all operating in the metro area. While this was positive overall, there were problematic aspects. Lack of overall coordination led to duplication of services in many instances. The same target populations often had several organizations attempting to provide services, which led to confusion and perceptions of competition. In a similar vein many of these organizations were appealing to the same resources for financial assistance and/or other resource assistance, thus stretching rather than concentrating resources. Attempts to network among resource organizations and persons resulted in a plethora of interorganizational and bureaucratic politics, which produced obstacles and deflected energies. All Club staff interviewed expressed a sense of frustration over competition among various agencies and organizations and attempts to martial resources for their own efforts.

In Greensboro there was tension between the Boys and Girls Club and the Salvation Army, under whose auspices the Club was originally formed. The tension between support and restraint in the Greensboro Club was likely due to the complementary and sometimes competing interests and goals of the Salvation Army and the Boys and Girls Clubs of America programs. On several occasions respondents indicated that programming conducted by the Boys and Girls Clubs,

particularly that which focused on matters of sexual behavior and responsibility, was frowned upon by the Salvation Army's central administration. In addition, operating this Club within the context of public housing also created obstacles. The relationship between the Housing Authority had the Morningside residents association (described as strained and distrustful) was a barrier to effective communication between Boys and Girls Club staff and residents. Also, there was an implied competition between Boys and Girls Club efforts and existing Housing Authority efforts.

While these two examples highlight problems with regard to networking, coordination and provision of services, other Clubs experienced similar difficulties in these areas. In most instances, however, Clubs were able to overcome these difficulties and engage in effective programming. The basic point is that these potential problems need to be identified early on and resolved, especially for those Clubs engaged in special emphasis programming.

Staff Quality, Training and Continuity

In order to be effective, programs undertaken by the Boys and Girls Clubs must have competent, committed and effective staff to implement them. In a very real sense, programs are only as good as the staff who run them. For the most part, this has not been a major concern. As we noted previously in this report, the evaluation team was continuously impressed with the commitment, diligence and competence of those staff we encountered during this project. However, from time to time, problems were noted in this area.

In the Wilmington, Delaware Boys and Girls Club, for example, the person initially hired as the educational enhancement coordinator was not successful. This individual was a school teacher but could not adjust to the less structured atmosphere of the Club. In Chicago (Ida B. Wells) it was noted that certain skills are needed to start up a new club and different skills may be needed to keep it growing while operating special emphasis programming. The North Seattle Boys and Girls Club (Lake City) utilized part time staff and volunteers on an availability basis. Here it was stressed that staff need to have experience in dealing with low income youth, follow through with directives, and have the flexibility to change direction if something is not working. The difficulty is recruiting the right type of person for the job. Turnover was high, often due to poor performance and relatively low pay. Similarly, staff training was limited, especially for part time employees.

Some Clubs did not target training as a major priority. Little training was provided the Blackwell Boys and Girls Club Unit Director upon assuming direction of the Club. In part this lack of training was related to a general trend in the Richmond Clubs to "downplay" training and other programs sponsored by Boys and Girls Clubs of America. Lack of training was related to underestimating the challenges to programming and management of new clubs within these settings. However, the current Unit Director (at the time of the site visit) was attending training programs offered by National, as well as using materials developed in conjunction with national efforts to better establish clubs in public housing settings. Little formal training was provided the staff of Morningside (Greensboro) prior to the inception of a comprehensive/medical screening program. While program staff did bring experience

and competence to the effort (e.g., prior work in social service agencies), it was equally clear that increased training for all staff was essential for this type of comprehensive intervention program.

Additional problems related to staffing needs involve limited monies and time frames for special emphasis programming. Such issues came up quite often during the course of the evaluation. Lack of competitive salaries leads to staff turnover, reliance on volunteers and part time employment. For example, in North Seattle the Lake City Club relied on part time staff who were limited to 20 hours per week, in order not to pay for fringe benefits. At the time of the initial site visit to the Hammond, Indiana Boys and Girls Club, only three of the Club staff, not including the educational enhancement coordinator, had been with the club longer than the project period. Staff continuity appeared to be an issue. While virtually all clubs expressed the need to hire a staff person to coordinate special emphasis programming, many expressed reservations in doing so. This reluctance stemmed from the concern about hiring someone and then having to terminate this person at the end of the grant period. This, indeed, was a problem for those clubs unable to generate sufficient resources to continue special emphasis programming.

Weed vs. Seed

As noted earlier, the original concept for Weed and Seed was underscored by the notion of a cooperative agreement between law enforcement and various community agencies and organizations. The general idea was to divest public housing of drugs, violence and crime and then re-invest economically and socially in the

community. Given this perspective, the Boys and Girls Clubs of America were ideal partners for this undertaking. However, in order to be effective there must be coordination, cooperation and trust among all those participating. While there are many examples in which this did occur, there were instances in which it did not.

Sometimes the difficulties focused upon an over reliance on law enforcement (the "weed" part) to the detriment of community re-building (the "seed" part). For example, in some public housing (most notably in Chicago) police employ a random protective "sweep" of the area. Typically, this involves unannounced searches of residences to discover unauthorized occupants, determine who resides in the apartment, and uncover the commission of crimes. While some residents view these "sweeps" as a positive activity, many have a negative view and regard them as an overly aggressive (and unconstitutional) law enforcement practice. Thus, for many residents these "sweeps" become a source of frustration and irritation, which works to increase the level of distrust and makes community reintegration all that more difficult.

As noted earlier, the original site of the new Seattle Boys and Girls Club in public housing was located within a weed and seed area but was not successful. In part, residents were not supportive of a weed and seed approach and viewed law enforcement as overly aggressive. A new club was then established in North Seattle Public Housing (Lake City). In Wilmington, Delaware, the bulk of weed and seed funding went to law enforcement either in the form of enhancing drug enforcement, prosecution, offender supervision and community policing. In spite of close proximity to the weed and seed area, there was no formal relationship between the Boys and Girls

Club and the local weed and seed project. Respondents indicated that they "had been left out of weed and seed."

In Richmond it was clear that the police were primarily focused on enforcement and suppression activities. There was little evidence of community outreach activity, with the exception of a PAL sponsored arts and crafts program. Respondents indicated that the community more often than not viewed the police in a negative light, distant from the community and not interested in any efforts that might "rebuild" the community. Again, in Charleston, South Carolina, weed and seed funding was used largely for police department activities.

In sum, while the "ideal" of weed and seed may be a viable approach, the "reality" of weed and seed may be quite different. As in the examples noted above, in some communities weed and seed took on a very aggressive law enforcement direction, to the detriment of community rebuilding. In addition, there was little networking and coordination between the Boys and Girls Clubs and weed and seed efforts, even though in some public housing weed and seed maintained a strong community approach and developed good working relationships with the local Boys and Girls Club.

Continuing Concerns

Other issues noted during the course of this evaluation included: (1) problems with documentation of information; (2) low levels of parental involvement; (3) sparse involvement of older youth and (4) problems with facilities/shared space. However, these problems were not specifically related to only the present project but represent

more ubiquitous difficulties confronted across much of Boys and Girls Club programming. For example, all of these issues were evident during a previous evaluation of the Boys and Girls Club gang prevention/intervention programming (Feyerherm, Pope and Lovell, 1992). In both the previous evaluation and the current one there was a reporting and documentation requirement. For example, medical records had to be maintained (comprehensive) and targeted youth needed to be tracked (educational enhancement). While records were being maintained at each site, some clubs were more diligent than others in recording information. In addition, many respondents viewed the record keeping requirement as overly burdensome and/or felt that there were not enough resources to support it.

Attempting to get parents and older youth involved in Boys and Girls Club activities has been a historical and continuing problem. This findings of this evaluation were no exception. Across all sites parents were found to be very supportive of the Boys and Girls Clubs generally and their programming activities. However, the difficulty lies in gaining direct involvement and participation in Club activities. While parents often encourage their children to participate, they do not take an active role. While some Clubs are more successful than others with regard to parental participation, this remains an ubiquitous problem. Similarly, those youth actively participating in Boys and Girls Club activities tend to be younger, generally in the 8 to 12 year range. When youth enter their teenage years active participation drops off markedly. Again, some clubs were more successful in retaining older youth than others but for the substantial majority of clubs, this remained a problem.

Finally, physical space can occasionally become a problem with regard to youth programming. It is not unusual, especially in public housing, to have space that is shared with other agencies and groups. This requires coordination with regard to the use of the facility and the timing of activities. Similarly, in some places the actual physical facility itself was not conducive to effective programming. For example, space was inadequate to support certain activities or to observe youth while in the facility.

Final Comments

Before closing this section there are two observations that need to be made. As noted earlier, while some clubs encountered more problems than others in attempting to reach their targeted goals, all achieved a certain degree of success if only for a limited time. The one possible exception to this was the Philadelphia Club located in Fairhill Housing Development. Here the effort to establish a new club was unsuccessful. From October, 1992 to April, 1992 the coordinator for the Fairhill effort, as well representatives from the Brown Community Center in North Philadelphia and the Crime Prevention Association (CPA), attempted to make some headway. The Brown Community Center was used for most activities with limited activities located in Fairhill. From April until the end of summer attempts were underway to securely establish the Fairhill site. By the end of summer this effort had failed.

During the interviews a number of reasons for the lack of success were identified. The Philadelphia Housing Authority was reported to have a history of difficulties with tenant/resident associations. The group initially involved as the resident association was disbanded shortly after initiation of the CPA efforts. Subsequently, five

residents appointed themselves as a "new council" to fill the void which became key to the unraveling of efforts to establish the new club. The weed and seed coordinator was reported to be uncooperative and legitimized the second residents' council. The situation was described as one in which turf battles over programming and control of dollars defeated the attempt to implement the weed and seed effort at Fairhill. Most important were difficulties between the second defacto residents' council and CPA leaders which culminated in a meeting on September 8, 1993. At this meeting the second residents' council demanded control of programming, dollars and staffing or else the Boys and Girls Club/CPA staff and programming would not be welcome. This demand ended any possibility of continuing the implementation effort.

While not necessarily unique, the problems experienced in Philadelphia were certainly extreme. The sequence of negative events encountered by those trying to establish a presence in Fairhill Public Housing appeared to the evaluation team to be virtually insurmountable. The Boys and Girls Cubs and other agencies were committed to this effort and did everything possible to make it successful. The lack of success cannot be attributed to a lack of commitment or effort on their part.

Finally, a few words are in order with regard to the special emphasis programming. Generally, it appeared that the educational enhancement efforts were more successful and had a greater chance of continuation than the comprehensive/medical screening approaches. However, this was to be expected. All of the clubs that we have visited both in this evaluation and the one dealing with gang prevention/intervention had some degree of educational focus. In terms of a "high yield" approach an educational component (e.g.,. after school tutoring, computer

utilization, etc.) is usually present. Therefore, most clubs have a history of experience in this area. In most cases, the grant monies enabled the clubs to increase their educational focus and in some instances make it a focal point of programming.

Medical screening, while seen as important and necessary, is a new area of club activity and one with which clubs have little past experience. The networking and coordination to make this effective is much more difficult than other program areas. One has to secure the cooperation of medical service providers, obtain the cooperation of both youth and adult residents, engage in a much different type of record keeping and so on. That clubs were willing to engage in this activity and were successful, if only for a limited time in some cases, is commendable.

BGCA (NATIONAL) INVOLVEMENT

Boys and Girls Clubs of America is a national non-profit youth organization with over 1450 affiliated Boys and Girls Clubs nationwide. BGCA has had an ongoing presence in the youth development and delinquency prevention arena for many years. The strategies and techniques implemented in the various efforts evaluated in this project were developed and put into action by local clubs with guidance, technical assistance, and limited oversight by BGCA. Selection of the particular clubs and sites for implementation of proposed efforts was accomplished by BGCA leaders. Members of the evaluation team examined the BGCA activities related to the project efforts. The following sections provide comments resulting from this examination.

Selection and Guidance

Leadership of affiliate clubs desiring to participate in the Weed and Seed project efforts responded to a BGCA request for proposals. Proposals were evaluated by BGCA leaders based on substantive merit and assessment of ability to deliver the proposed efforts. Guidance had been provided concerning the nature of requested efforts and expectations for delivery of project efforts.

Following selection of clubs and sites, BGCA provided additional guidance on establishing relationships with other Weed and Seed efforts and project initiation. Guidance was also provided concerning reporting, maintenance of records, BGCA technical assistance, and monitoring. The guidance from BGCA was sufficient, and BGCA's role in project development, coordination, and establishment of continuity was important. BGCA is one of the only organizations capable of delivering a project of true national scope, because of the nature of the arrangements between BGCA and affiliate local organizations. This situation must receive emphasis, and is one of the most important elements of BGCA involvement in any large-scale project.

Technical Assistance

BGCA employed a consultant/coordinator to provide continuity and continuing technical assistance for the project overall and for each of the local club efforts. This person assisted with initial orientation of project participants, with project development, with on-site assistance, and with the design and conduct of de-briefing sessions, which occurred near the end of the grant period with the intention of learning from the efforts which had taken place (the de-briefings were held for the comprehensive and

educational enhancement efforts). BGCA leaders were also involved in each of these assistance/coordination ventures.

The technical assistance provided by BGCA was valuable. Evaluation team members attended the de-briefing sessions. These were thorough and presented the opportunity for representatives from each of the comprehensive and educational enhancement efforts to provide feedback on what worked well and what did not. The interactions at these sessions were valuable in establishing and/or strengthening relationships across clubs and in allowing all involved to gain a more complete understanding of the efforts and directions pursued.

Evaluation team members questioned project staff concerning technical assistance (especially orientation and on-site assistance) during site visits. Responses were generally positive. Possible improvements were discussed. These included: re-structuring orientation sessions to include more persons from the local club efforts, especially additional key community persons; assisting with greater interaction across local efforts during the course of implementation, so that clubs implementing similar efforts could benefit from knowledge about what was occurring across sites; and disseminating information regarding funding opportunities for continuation of the efforts, as well as strategies for continuation of the efforts.

Monitoring

BGCA required quarterly reporting on the project. BGCA leaders and staff attended to this requirement, and the local clubs complied. Beyond this, various BGCA leaders visited sites during the course of implementation and maintained regular contact with the local clubs. Also, the on-site technical assistance visits by the consultant/coordinator were utilized as a means for maintaining communications about the states of the implementation efforts.

BGCA and NIJ

Overall, the efforts of the BGCA (national) were strong and reflected careful planning, as well as attention to detail. The outlook of BGCA leaders was to provide the best possible foundation for success of the local implementation efforts. Along the various dimensions of involvement, BGCA efforts were appropriate and, in most respects, excellent.

For future projects, there is one area of consideration which deserves attention. Coordination between BGCA and NIJ could have been much better regarding initiating the evaluation component. The evaluation team was not brought into the project until after the mid-point of implementation efforts. Some of the local efforts were very near completion by the time initial evaluation site visits could be arranged. This hampered the evaluation.

In planning future projects, careful attention should be directed to bringing the evaluators on board during the planning phases, before implementation. This would assist greatly, in that specific evaluation plans could become (as these should be)

integral components of project planning. Among other benefits, this would allow for specification of data to be developed and collected during planning and during implementation to support a detailed and comprehensive evaluation. Much of the data and/or information required for evaluation of the efforts discussed in this report simply was not developed and could not be developed given the late start to the evaluation. The methodology originally envisioned could not be completely carried out. In the real world of constraints and practical limitations, all things cannot happen in a textbook manner. However, for future projects and evaluations, thoughtful attention should be paid to initiating the involvement of evaluators during the planning phases.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. *PROGRAMMING SHOULD HAVE LONG TERM OBJECTIVES*: Special emphasis programming (whether educational enhancement or comprehensive) within public housing should provide for continuity of services for youthful residents. Across all sites, residents expressed concern with short term programs and organizations that come into the area but do not stay. Programs of short duration may raise expectations and when these end, those who participated or expected to participate may become increasingly cynical, disappointed and wary of additional efforts. In planning for programming there should be a perspective toward the long term provision of services. In other words, a long term presence is desirable where short term programs are not.

In order to accomplish these objectives consideration should be given toward multiple year funding. While this is an on-going debate it is an issue for a number of

clubs. A slight increase in the total amount of available dollars with the option to spread it over 18-24 months might be a compromise position. Another option would be to incorporate an implementation component that would have minimal funding followed by the actual program operation.

Given the above, all proposals should include a continuation plan. For example, where do clubs anticipate obtaining funds to continue these operations? In some sites there were existing plans for how they were going to continue the program even prior to funding. This approach should increase the stability of programs.

2. *LOCAL CLUBS SHOULD BE CLEAR ABOUT PROJECT GOALS*: This would involve not just operational aspects (i.e. having youth involved) but also larger goals of improving relationships with schools and improving academic achievement. Program components must be placed in the context of what are the overall goals. Clubs need to show or discuss how activities and events relate to goal achievement.

Clubs that are selected should have the foundation to add this program component. Clubs that are struggling with providing the basic programs do not have the wherewithal to undertake these additional services. In planning, an essential item for examination is whether or not program activities would overextend clubs and stall resources, even though some additional resources (grant funds) accompany the new program.

Similarly, clubs should have adequate existing staff (or provisions for securing them) in order to conduct the program. With one year of funding many clubs did not feel comfortable in adding staff, only to have to lay them off at the conclusion of the project. Given this situation careful attention should be directed to level of funding

provided for staff. Expectations and performance aims may require a person with qualifications, experience and abilities beyond what the money could normally support. In addition careful attention should be given to how the program is to operate with existing and part-time staff. With regard to the educational programs there was consensus that more than one staff person needed to be involved. Generally, responsibilities were divided between internal (program operation) and external (recruiting, liaison with schools) efforts.

3. *IMPLEMENTATION AND NEEDS ASSESSMENT SHOULD BE EMPHASIZED*: After the clubs have been selected, there should be a well defined implementation phase in which the actual goals and program operations are clarified. During this phase clubs could be brought together to discuss their projects and National could provide technical assistance in helping them adequately implement the model. Consideration should be given to a "coordinating conference" including both new sites and those that have previously engaged in special emphasis programming.

Similarly, a careful needs assessment should be undertaken. For example, with regard to educational enhancement, this exercise forces the interaction of the club with the school to determine what will be most useful in working with youth within the community and were service gaps may arise from the school's perspective.

4. *SPECIAL EMPHASIS PROGRAMMING WHICH IS TIED INTO A NEW SITE DEVELOPMENT SHOULD BE CAREFULLY CONSIDERED*: In certain instances, trying to do both at the same time may prove to be overwhelming. At the very least, programming efforts are apt to be delayed while the new club takes shape. Establishing a new club in public housing often requires a tremendous effort in

coordinating with various groups and gaining the trust of residents. In addition, there may be physical restoration of the building that may impede implementation of the program. This is not to say that both efforts should never be combined but rather special attention should be given to potential problems that may arise. Similarly, it is desirable that clubs selected already have an existing relationship with targeted community agencies (i.e. schools, police, public health facilities). While the program operation can serve as a catalyst for improving relationships it would be difficult to start such a program in a situation where was no previous relationship.

5. *COORDINATION OF ACTIVITIES*: It is imperative that each club coordinate with other agencies and organizations that are providing services within the targeted areas. There must develop a cooperative relationship among all service providers in order to forestall possible turf battles and avoid duplication of services. While most clubs have addressed this issues there were some instances where cooperation was not as good as it should be. Existing resources should be shared rather than diluted.

6. *PROVISIONS SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED FOR OBTAINING THE INPUT OF RESIDENTS*: Public housing residents should be included in the programming efforts of the clubs. Not only is it important to establish a resident's advisory board but clubs should seek wider input from among public housing residents. Ideas and suggestions should be solicited in order to obtain the support and commitment of the resident population. Similarly, it is important to develop close working relationships and obtain the support of the public housing authority within the targeted area.

7. *CAREFUL ATTENTION NEEDS TO BE PLACED ON THE PROVISION OF MEDICAL SERVICE*: Comprehensive programming (medical screening) is relatively new territory for most clubs. Therefore, coordination among agencies is imperative and the support of local hospitals and public health authorities must be developed. The provision of medical services must be carefully supervised and adequate medical records must be maintained in a legally prescribed manner. Follow up services must be carefully monitored. If clubs provide follow up medical services in lieu of parents the potential liability issues need to be addressed.

8. *EDUCATIONAL ENHANCEMENT PROGRAMS NEED TO EXERCISE CAUTION IN THE USE OF INCENTIVES*: While incentives are a powerful motivator for youth's program participation and performance, some clubs reported that they can easily get out of hand. The use of incentives should be placed in the context of the overall program. Otherwise a situation can develop of doing things just for the sake of incentives, and staff and youth alike become prisoners of the incentive system. Further, specific educational enhancement programs should be tailored to the needs of youth residing within the communities. In other words "one size does not necessarily fit all". While national programs can provide useful guidelines for clubs to follow they may need to be adapted to meet local needs.

9. *NEED FOR CONTINUOUS EDUCATION AND STAFF TRAINING*: Each program enhancement whether educational or comprehensive needs a separate knowledgeable and well-trained coordinator to oversee and carry out the activities. Staff involved in the program have a need for continuous up-to-date training, both

locally and nationally. If training sessions and/or conferences are held it is important that the right people (those directly involved in the program) attend.

10. *THE IMPORTANCE OF ACCURATE AND CONTINUOUS RECORD KEEPING NEEDS TO BE STRESSED.*

11. *THE OVERRIDING OBJECTIVE SHOULD BE TO MAINSTREAM YOUTH INTO ALL CLUB ACTIVITIES.*

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